When Mr. Wilson developed his 14 points for peace, to his doctrine of freedom of the seas. When the Allies discussed shape and determine. the American peace program, they accepted all but the part relating to freedom of the seas.

Now comes Mr. Churchill, a Briton of talents and authority, whose grandfather was an American, fearing that the doctrine of free seas means the destruction of the British fleet, or its reduction to impotency.

There is not necessarily such an implication on the doctrine of free seas. It would indeed seem as if the size of armaments, the quantity of them, whether of armies, cannon, air ships, or surface ships, will not be discussed under freedom of the seas, but under the principle for regulating armaments.

Without speaking in any didactic or certain tone, The guard against. Times-Farmer believes that freedom of the seas has little to do with the size of fleets, but very much to do with the way in on which fleets, whatever their size, shall be used.

When two nations declare war, may merchant ships be destroyed as they have been, by submarines Shall blockades of neutral ports be permitted? Shall there be free passage in all waters, ways and everywhere on the seas, outside of territorial more complete, more thorough in the industries of the country and of peace again—a peace secure against the violence of irresponsible more the violence of irresponsible more archaead ambitious military coteries. waters? Will the area of territorial water be diminished or increased. The three mile limit is based on the range of guns as they used to use. Modern guns range 25 miles or more.

It is to be assumed, until the doctrine is developed by discussion in the peace conference, that freedom of the seas, relates very little to the size of fleets and very much to the way those fleets are to be used, against the commerce of belligerents, and against the commerce of neutrals.

The government appears to prepare for the construction of the largest fleet in the world. This may be merely a species of unspoken diplomacy, or it may represent the real purpose of the

The ability of Great Britain to have the largest fleet is strictly limited by the will of the United States. Great Britain supply, equipment and despatch that ships we really feel?

I would dwell upon, but the mettle ships we really feel? could no more outbuild the United States in fleet, in the presence of a rivalry, than it could swell its land area to an equality with American land area.

The leaders who sit in conference understand these limitations much better than ordinary men. The world will have to trust them a little longer. The trust hitherto reposed in them was well founded.

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINALS

AW in its secular political sense, is a rule of conduct imposed by authority which has the power to enforce its mandates. When within any political society the established authority becomes unable to enforce the law, of which the chief voy and battle with imperishable dis- the losses of the war longer than we. principle is public order, revolution is threatened, or anarchy,

Rebellion within a political society is primarily an attempt to repudiate existing law, with the purpose of establishing other as hardly need to be commanded, and law in its place.

Hence books attempting to describe political phenomena find those who know just what it is they it necessary to take account of the authority of governments in would accomplish fact, as well as to describe legal governments,

In these times of disturbance the books do not furnish as a rule or. Those of us who staid at home did our duty. The war could not evidence as to what may and what may not be legally done. A have been won, or gallant men who rebellion which succeeds confers legality upon its illegal acts, fought it given the opportunity to win it otherwise. But for many a

by legislation of force. The learned gentlemen who search the books to ascertain accursed were we not there and hold whether the Kaiser may be taken from Holland are wasting a speaks that fought,' with these at St. great deal of energy. What may be done, assuming that the his days of triumphant battle will dience. Kaiser cannot hide and will not commit suicide, depends upon go with those fortunate men to their what the conquerors decide to do with him. The unborn fact is graves; and each will have his fav-

not secreted in a book, but lies in the domain of action.

Those who are interested in arriving at the notion of legality forgot, but he'll be remembered by Those who are interested in arriving at the notion of legality the feats he performed.

by a particular type of procedure, can build upon almost any What we thank God for is that our kind of case desired. Some learned and near sighted students lean strongly to the theory that since the Kaiser is in a neutral country he cannot be extradited. When laws were purely between nations, the theory was excellent, though it didn't always ranks of freedom in time to turn the prevail against the fact.

The Kaiser is charged with violations of international law, struggle-turn it once for all, so that thenceforth it was back, back, back He has been conquered by a world association of for their enemies always back, never nations. The conquerors fought for the vindication of international principals and in their tentative peace proposels have laid down, not rules for nations, but rules for the world. They have attempted procedure in the interest of mankind.

The principles which govern extradition between one state and another do not fit a condition in which the criminal is elevation of purpose ran through all compilshment of a great task. But charged with international offenses. In the theory of the new untiring accomplishment. I have said to have been signed we took the harorder, there is no place to which an international criminal can that those of us who stayed at home ness off. Raw materials upon which resort for safety. Every part of the globe is equally in the pas-

view of international legislation.

By right of conquest, oldest and surest of rights, there exists an international government in fact, a world alliance, which has taken jurisdiction of breaches of international law, and which has the power to deal with international criminals.

There is no place on earth in which the Kaisen con last.

There is no place on earth in which the Kaiser can be whole great undertaking. deemed beyond the authority of the world tribunal which will

against international law cannot escape jurisdiction, except in the men in the trenches and on the seas and to bring the men back as fast the men in the trenches and on the seas and to bring the men back as fast resolved.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S ADDRESS TO CONGRESS

Washington, Dec. 3-In an address to Congress in joint their triumph! session yesterday President Wilson announced his intention to go to Paris for the peace conference saying the allied governments have accepted principles annunciated by him for peace and it is his paramount duty to be present.

The President said:

"Gentlemen of the Congress:

"In the year that has elapsed since I last stood before you to fulfil my constitutional duty to the Congress from time to time, in what they gave? information on the state of the Union has been so crowded with great events, great processes and great results that I cannot hope to give you an adequate picture of its transactions or of the farreaching changes which have been wrought in the life of our nation and of the world. You have yourselves witnessed these things as I have. It is too soon to assess them: practical work they entered.

These great days of completed tive. and we who stand in the midst of them and are part of them achievement would be sadly marred are less qualified than men of another generation will be to say what they mean or even what they have been. But some great they have rendered, the women of the provide immediate employment for all fined to the war profits accruing in

outstanding facts are unmistakable and constitute in a sense of the men of our returning armies, 1918, or in 1919 from business originatlittle, but surely it cannot wisely be contacted the public business with which it is one duty to deal. To part of the public business with which it is our duty to deal. To those who are skilled workmen, mose who are skilled workmen, in state them is to set the stage for the legislative and executive who have acquired familiarity with established businesses, those who are skilled workmen, mose who are skilled workmen, in with those who are skilled workmen, in with those who are skilled workmen, in with those who are skilled workmen, in with the established businesses, those who are skilled workmen, in with those who are skilled workmen, in with those who are skilled workmen, in which we have acquired familiarity and executive action which must grow out of them and which we have yet to

A year ago we had sent 145,198 men overseas. Since then we have sent 1,950,513, an average of 162,542 each month the number in fact rising in May last to 245,951, in June 278,760, in July to 307,182, and continuing to reach similar figures in August and September, in August 289,570 and in September 257,438. There will be a large floating residuum business interests can afford to be re-

In all this movemy attacks, 620 cf whom were my attacks, 620 cf whom were say that we are the kinsmen of such.

And now, we are sure of the great was sunk near the Orkney Islands. I will tell what lay back of this great and effort than any other great bel-ligerent had ever been able to "We a

of preparation, and quality of the officers and men "I hope that the members of the plans and the appropriations which it sent over, and of the sailors who kept Senate will permit me to speak once has entrusted to the Department of sent over, and of the sallors who kept more of the unratified treaty of the Interior. It is possible in deal-that stood behind them. No soldlers to the unratified treaty of the Interior. It is possible in deal-ing with our unused land to effect a or sailors ever proved when put to the test. Those of us set for such action as will be not only who played some part in directing the just but generous and in the spirit of great processes by which the war was the new age upon which we have so tion. pushed irrestibly forward to the final happily entered. triumph may now forget that and de-light our thoughts of the story of what our men did. Their officers un-to peace is a problem of economic and derstood the grim and exacting task industrial readjustment. That probtinction at every turn whether the entheir chiefs, Persning and Salas, their to the youngest lieutenant; and their ful at every readjustment, definite in men were worthy of them—such men purpose and self-reliant in action. Any as hardly need to be commanded, and leading strings we might seek to put go to their terrible adventure blithely them in would speedily become hopeand with th equick intelligence of

"I am proud to be the fellow countryman of men of such stuff and valour manhoods cheap while any rite memory.

"Old men forget; yet all shall be

when the whole fate of the world seemed to hang in the balance and threw their fresh strength into the whole tide and sweep off the fateful again forward. After that it was only a scant four months before the comanders of the central empires knew themselves beaten; and now their very empires are in liquidation.

"And throughout it all, how fine the spirit of the nation was. What unity in harness to draw the common lead of purpose, what untiring zeal. What and make of us one team in the ac-

The unselfishness, the great devoable farms, in the depths of coal more as the weeks go by. nines and iron mines and copper lines wherever the stuffs of industry the shipyards, on the railways, at the docks, on the sea, in every labor that was needed men have vied with each other to do their part and do it well.

womanhood.

The least tribute we can pay them selves their equals in every field of

were we to omit that act of justice.

Besides the immense practical services of private initiative will not, however,

through extraordinary dangers of at-tack—dangers which were alike and everything else that we had that lar and that plans should be made for away. tack—dangers which were allow might serve the common cause. The such developments of our unused I take it for granted that the Congrand argument In all this move details of such a story can never be lands and our natural resources as we gress will carry out the naval proment only 758 men were lost by eneour hearts and thank God that we can | undertake.

triumph for every sacrifice was Secretary of the Interior has develop-made. It has come; come in its com-ed in his annual report and before movement of men and material. It is pleteness and with the pride and in-not invidious to say that back of it spiration of these days of achievement method and effective in results, more and made ready for a new order, for spirited and unanimous in purpose new foundations of justice and fair

ligerent had ever been able to "We are about to give peace, not effect. We profited greatly by the experience of the nations which had al-peoples of the world as well, so far as ready been engaged for nearly three they will suffer us to serve them. It years in the exigent and exacting busi-ness. Their every resource and every executive proficiency taxed to the ut-thoughts have dwelt of late upon Eumost. We were the pupils. But we rope, upon Asia, upon the near and learned quickly and acted with the far east, very little upon the acts of promptness and are co-operating that of peace and accommodation that justly our great pride that we were wait to be performed at our own justly our great pride that we were wait to be performed at our own subject to periodical overnow of them. The gallant men of our able to serve the world with unparalleled energy and quick accomplish- lations with the rest of the world is it is perfectly feasible to drain and nent.
But it is not the physical scale and should clear away all grounds of misunderstanding with our

themselves them an early and favorable action

So far as our domestic affairs are concerned, the problem of our return terprise were great or small—from be coached and led. They know their their chiefs, Pershing and Sims, down own business, are quick and resourcelessly tangled because they would pay no attention to them and go their own way. All that we can do as their legislative and executive servants is to mediate the process of change here, there and elsewhere as we may. have heard much counsel as to the sonally conducted to a happy consummation, but from no nuarter have ong day we shall think ourselves I seen any general scheme of "recon-accursed were we not there and hold struction" emerge which I thought it likely we could force our spirited business men and self-reliant laborers to accept with due pliancy and obe-

Need of American Aid. While the war lasted we set up industries of the country in the services it was necessary for them to should not be left to the vicissitudes render, by which to make sure of an of the sharp competition for materabundant supply of the materials ials and for industrial facilities needed, by which to check undertak- which is now to set in. I hope, ings that could for the time be dispensed with and stimulate those that be unwilling, if it should become were most serviceable in war, by which to gain for the purchasing departments of the government a certain right to establish articles and materials by which to restrain trade with alien enemies, make the most of the available shipping and German terror and whom we both public and private, so that there would be no unnecessary conflict or confusion-by which, in short, to put every material energy of the country its splendid display of strength; its the moment we knew the armistice to do the work of organization and the government had kept its hand for supply will always wish that we had fear there should not be enough for tasks that supplied the sinews of the which they were put before the war, whole great undertaking.

It has not been possible to remove a lit will be a serious consequence to It has not been possible to remove so the country med beyond the authority of the world tribunal which will at Versailles.

The unsemsness, the great devoration of distinguished capacity foodstuffs and of shipping because the that marks their tollsome labors day world has still to be fed from our after day; month after month, have made them fit mates and comrades of ed to send supplies to our men overreadily or so quickly the control of certainties in this matter a single day made them fit mates and comrades of ed to send supplies to our men over-struction before those uncertainties are ington only. They have but directed other side of the water permit, but the vast achievement. Throughout even there restraints are being relaxing to the vast achievement. numerable factories, upon innumer- ed as much as possible and more and

Efficiency at Home Never before have there been agen. Sate to the immediate rapid decline in cies in existence in this country which lions. An immediate rapid decline in Never before have there been agenknew so much of the field of supply, of labor and of industry, as the War not to be booked for. Contracts made Industries Board, the Labor Department, the Food Administration and idly cancelled and liquidated, but their the Fuel Administration for the Fuel Administration and idly cancelled and liquidated, but their They can look any man-at-arms in the Food Administration and lidly cancelled and inquisated, out their the face and say we also strove to win and gave the best that was in us to make our fleets and armies sure of their triumph!

"And what shall we say of the "And what shall we say of the women—of their instant intelligence, quickening every task that they touched; their capacity for organization and co-operation which gave their action discipline and encourage at the affectiveness of everything at the affectiveness of everything at the affectiveness of everything at the enemy), to put the war debt must of course be paid and ed the effectiveness of everything submission of the enemy), to put the war debt must of course be paid and aptitude at knowledge of these bodies at the dis- provisions made for the retirement of tasks to which they had never beposal of the business men of the the obligations of the Government
fore set their hands; their utter selfsacrifice alike in what they did and mediation at every point and in every mands will of course fall much below in what they gave? Their contri-bution to the great result is beyond appraisal. They have added a new lustre to the annals of American stopped. It promises to outrun any operations of the year, inquiry that may be instituted and Finencing of is to make the equals of men in political rights as they have proved themnot be easy to direct it any better than it will direct itself. The American business man is of quick initia-

Work of Reemployment

ed in his annual report and before plans of the next three years. These your committees for the reciamation plans have been prepared along the land for cultivation. There are said of the war, but with the injention of to be fifteen or twenty million acres of land in the West at present arid. for whose reclamation water is available, if properly conserved. There of that policy. It would clearly be our government to contribute without are about two hundred and thirty unwise for us to attempt to adjust our million acres from which the forests have been cut but which have never yet undetermined. yet been cleared for the plough and which lie waste and desolate. lie scattered all over the Union. And policy to be adopted toward the railsubject to periodical overflow or too judgment of my own. I do not see The Congress can at once direct thousands of the immediate returning soldiers to the reclamation worthy of your most friendly atten

Ald for France and Belgium,

I have spoken of the control which must yet for a while, perhaps for a long while, be exercised over shipping because of the priority of service to which our forces overseas are entitled and which should also be accorded the shipments which are save recently from starvation and many devastated regions from permanent ruin May I not say a special word about France? No sums of money paid by way of indemnity will serve of themselves to save them from hopeless disadvantage for years to come Something more must be done than merely find the money. If they had money and raw materials in abundance tomorrow they could not re-sume their place in the industry of plans that should be formed and per- the world tomorrow-the very important place they held before the flame of war swept across them. Many of their factories are razed to the ground. ery is destroyed or has been taken Their people are scattered away. and many of their best workmen are cead. Their markets will be taken of expedition and national economy. by others, if they are not in some special way assisted to rebuild their many agencies by which to direct the factories and replace their lost in therefore, that the Congress will not necessary, to grant to some such agency as the War Trade Board the priorities of excontrol over the prices of essential port and supply for the benefit of these people whom we have been so happy to assist in saving from the transactions, not now thoughtlessly leave to shift for themselves in a pitlless competitive market.

For the steadying and facilitation of our own domestic business readjustments nothing is more important than the immediate determination of the taxes that are to be levied for burden of taxation must be lifted to delay removing all un-If the war had continued it would

eight billion dollars by taxation, pay-mble in the year 1919; but the war has ended, and I am agreed with the Sec-retary of the Treasury that it will be safe to reduce the amount to six bilthe expenses of the Government is

Financing of Debt. I entirely concur with the Secretary

of the Treasury in recommending that the two billions needed in addition to the four billions provided by existing law be obtained from the profits which have accrued and shall accrue from war contract and distinctively war business, but that these taxes be con-

all those whose aptitudes are known 1529 should be reduced from six to or will be sought out by employers, four billions. Any arrangements less of labor which should not be left sponsible for creating or prolonging, wholly to shift for itself. It seems Clearly determined conditions, clearly No such movement of troops ever country have been the moving spirits to me important, therefore, that the and simply charted, are indispensable ook place before across 3,000 miles in the systematic economies by which development of public works of every to the economic revival and rapid in of sea, followed by adequate equipment and supplies, and carried safely suffering peoples of the world and order that opportunities should be expected if we act now

> we entered the war. The Secretary of I particularly direct your attention the Navy has submitted to your comto the very practical plans which the mittees for authorization that part of the program which covers the building plans have been prepared along the lines and in accordance with policy and in accordance with the policy which the Congress established, not under the exceptional conditions adhering to a definite method of deprograms to a future world policy as

The question which causes me the greatest concern is the question of the plexity of the problem. It is a probor prejudice. Nothing can be gained by becoming partisans of any particular plan of settlement.

Problem of Railroads.

It was necessary that the administration of the railways should lombia. I very earnestly urge upon great rural and agricultural devel- taken over by the government so long them an early and ravorable action opment which will allore the more quickly ready for the test of battle or acquitted themselves with more the or acquitted themselves with more acquitted themselves with more "I believe that they will feel, with help themselves, and the Secretary carry through under a single direction." courage and achievement me, that the stage of affairs is now at to the test. Those of us set for such action as will be not only sible methods out in a way which is ment. It would have been impossible methods out in a way which is ment. It would have been impossible methods out in a way which is ment. It would have been impossible methods out in a way which is ment. It would have been impossible methods out in a way which is ment. It would have been impossible methods out in a way which is ment. ble otherwise to combine maximum production at the factories and mines and farms with the maximum possible car supply to take the products to the ports and markets; impossible to route troop shipments and freight shipments without regard to the adwhen necessary, all questions of conpublic treasury. But all these neces-

question is, what is best for the rail-roads and for the public in the future. Execptional circumstances and exceptional methods of administration Department of War. posed upon them by the rapid and continuous development of the indusalready. And we knew that they were unequal to it partly because their full o-operation was rendered impossible by law and their competition made obligatory, so that it has been impossible to assign to them severally the traffic which could best be carried by their respective lines in the interest We may hope, I believe, for the treaty by the time spring has come.

planned could not be completed with- vant of the nation. roads to leave the question wered and that it will presently be come my duty to relinquish control of the roads, even before the expiration of the statutory period, unless there should appear some clear prospect in the meantime of a legislarive solution Their release would at least produc one element of a solution, certainty and a quick stimulation of private initiative.

I believe that it will be serviceable for me to set forth as explicitly as possible the alternative courses that lie open to our choice. We can sim-ply release the roads and go back to the old conditions of private manage-ment, unrestricted competition and multiform regulation by both State and Federal authorities; or we can g to the opposite extreme and establish complete Government control, accompanied, if necessary, by actual Govern ment ownership, or we can adopt an intermediate course of modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected. as, for example, by regional corporations under which the rallways of de-finable areas would be in effect combined in single systems.

Change In Railroad Needs

The one conclusion that I am ready state with confidence is that it would be a disservice alike to the country and to the owners of the railroads to return to the old condition unmodified. Those are conditions of restraint without development. is nothing affirmative or helpful about them. What the country chiefly need is that all its means of transportation should be developed, its railways, it waterways, its highways and its countryside roads." Some new element policy, therefore, is absolutely nece sary-necessary for the service of the public, necessary for the release of credit to those who are administerit the rallways, necessary for the pro-lection of their security holders. To

partial study of the whole problem inrapidly as possible. I stand ready and anxious to release the roads from the present control and I must do so at a very early date if by waiting until the statutory limit of time is reached I shall be merely prolonging the period of doubt and uncertainty which

is hurtful to every interest concerned. welcome this occasion to ansounce to the Congress my purpose to join in Paris the representatives of the governments with which we have een associated in the war against the Central Er; pires for the purpose of discussing with them the main feaures of the treaty of peace. I realize the great inconvenience that will atend my leaving the country, partieularly at this time, but the conclusion that it was my paramount duty to go has been forced upon me by consider. ations which I hope will seem as conclusive to you as they have seemed

Promises to Keep in Touch.

The Allied governments have accepted the bases of peace which I outlined to the Congress on the eighth of January last, as the Central Empires also have, and very reasonably desire my personal counsel in their interpretation and application, and it velopment for the navy. I earnestly is highly desirable that I should give recommend the uninterrupted pursuit it in order that the sincere desire of selfish purpose of any kind to settle ments that will be of common benefit to all the nations concerned may be made fully manifest. The peace settlements which are now to upon are of transcendent importance Interest which should take precedence plexity of the problem. It is a prob-lem which must be studied, studied which they knew to be the ideals of immediately and studied without bias press those ideals; they have accepted my statements of them as the substance of their own thought and puroose, as the associated governments have accepted them: I owe it to them to see to it, so far as in me lies, that no false or mistaken interpretation is put upon them, and no possible effort omitted to realize them. It is now my duty to play my full part in making good what hey offered their life's blood to obtain. I can think of no call to service which could transcend

Explains Cable Seizure

I shall be in close touch with you and with affairs on this side of the water, and you will know all that I do. At my request the French and At my request the French and vantage or disadvantage of the reads English governments have absolutely employed; impossible to subordinate, removed the consorship of cable news which until within a fortnight they venience to the public necessity; im- had maintained and there is now no possible to give the necessary finan-class support to the roads from the end except upon attempted trade com ership whatever exercised at this munications with enemy countries. It sities have now been served, and the has been necessary to keep an open wire constantly available Paris and the Deparament of State and another between France and the were not needed to convince us that the rallroads were not equal to the immense tasks of transportation imtries of the country. We knew that system. I did so at the advice of the most experienced cable efficials, and I hope that the results will justify my hope that the news of the next few months may pass with the utmost freedom and with the least possible delay from each side of the sea to the other.

Calls for United Support.

May I not hope, gentlemen of the Congress, that in the delicate tasks formal conclusion of the war by I shall have to perform on the other side of the sea, in my efforts truly The twenty-one months to which and faithfully to interpret the printhe present control of the railways ciples and purposes of the country we is limited after formal proclamation of peace shall have been made will and the added strength of your united run at the farthest, I take it for support? I realize the magnitude and granted, only to the January of 1921, difficulty of the duty I am undertak. The full equipment of the railways ing. I am poignantly aware of its which the Federal Administration had grave responsibilities. I am the serin any such period. The present law private thought or purpose of my own does not permit the use of the reven-ues of the several roads for the exe-to give the best that is in me to the cution of such plans except by formal common settlements which I must now contract with their directors, some of assist in arriving at in conference whom will consent while some will not with the other working heads of the and therefore does not afford sufficient authority to undertake improve-ments upon the scale which it would encouragement. I shall not be inacbe necessary to undertake them. cessible. The cables and the wireless Every approach to this difficult sub-ject matter of decision brings us face sel or service you may desire of me, to face, therefore, with this unanswer- and I shall be happy in the thought ed question; What is it right that we that I am constantly in touch with should do with the railroads, in the the weighty matters of demestic pol-interest of the public and in fairness by with which we shall have to deal. to their owners? Let me say at once I shall make my absence as brief as that I have no answer ready. The possible and shall hope to return with only thing that is perfectly clear to me the happy assurance that it has been is that it is not fair either to the possible to translate into action the public or to the owners of the ran- great ideals for which America has

EISNER LOSING PRESTIGE; NOT ABLE TO SPEAK

Own Partisans Hiss Him During Campaign in Munich For Soldiers.

London, Dec. 3-Kurt Eisner, the Pavarian premier is losing prestige according to Munich advices received here by way of Amsterdam, Copenhagen and Berne. A Copenhagen despatch says Elsner was hissod by his own partisans at Munich duing a campaign in honor of returning soldiers. Later a supporter of Eisner was not allowed to make a speech and was obliged to flee from an angry crowd which removed the Rei Flags along the streets and stormed the ministry of the interior, shout-

"Down with Eisner." Guards fired ver the heads of the crowd, which

A Berne despatch to the Mail says is believed Bavaria gradually is eaching a conclusion to retain its unity with the rest of Germany raththan seeking a separate peace. Phis message also reports evidence growing hostility toward Etsnav. dding that there are signs in Munich hat a crisis is approaching and their ction favoring some form of memay be taken within three rchy

British cotton spinners, cardroon craers, are scheduled to strike in second week of December.